FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

APRIL 22, 1916

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Drawn by Nina E. Allender

Little Miss Moffit
Sat on a tuffit,
Eating her curds and whey;
There came a great spider
And sat down beside her,
DID IT FRIGHTEN MISS MOFFIT AWAY?
IT DID NOT!

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VOL. IV

The Suffragist

No. 15

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage
Lafayette Square, Washington, D. C.

APRIL 22, 1916

General Notes of the Week

Women and Freedom

PRESIDENT WILSON, in his address of welcome to the delegates to the twenty-fifth annual congress of the Daughters of the American Revolution at Memorial Continental Hall, Washington, last Monday, reiterated his belief in self-government and freedom. He also tried to impress upon his audience the necessity of not getting away too much from the ideals of liberty of the generations who have gone before us. He said:

> The purpose of this nation was in one sense to afford an asylum to men of all classes and kinds who desired to be free and take part in the administration of a self-governed commonwealth.
>
> It was founded in order that men of every sort should have proof given that a commonwealth of that sort was practicable, not only, but could win its standing of distinction and power among the nations of the world.
>
> When America ceases to be unselfish, she will cease to be America. When she forgets the traditions of devotion to human rights in general which gave spirit and impulse to her founders, she will have lost her title deeds to her own nationality.
>
> Tradition is a handsome thing in proportion as we live up to it. If we fall away from the traditions of the fathers, we have dishonored them. If we forget the traditions of the fathers we have changed our characters; we have lost an old impulse; we have become unconscious of the principles in which the life of the nation itself is rooted and grounded.

The President seemed to forget entirely that he was addressing about three thousand disfranchised women, Women have told him, repeatedly, that they "desire to be free and to take part in the administration of a self-governed commonwealth." Although he consistently neglects to aid their political enfranchisement, he is apparently very much at ease when speaking before them of his ideals of "free government" and "true republics."

Mississippi Valley Women Will Confer

EVERY state drained by the Mississippi River will have representative women at the Mississippi Valley Suffrage Conference, which will meet in Minneapolis, May 7-10. Some of the delegates are already enfranchised. The conference will consider how best to promote the national and state suffrage campaigns. On the program are Miss Anne Martin, national legislative chairman of the Congressional Union, Mrs. Alden H. Potter, Minnesota, chairman of the Union, and Mrs. Bertram Sippy, Illinois chairman of the Union

Teachers Organize

PLANS have been launched for the organization into a union of the 200 teachers of the five white high schools of Washington. The proposed union will only hold its charter in the American Federation of Labor until such a time as there are enough teachers' organizations all over the country to form a National Federation of Teachers. When the latter federation is formed the Federation of Labor will withdraw its charter.

The basis for the formation of the union is outlined in the call as follows:

> "Every class of people in the country, including capital, labor and the professions, have nation-wide organizations for their protection and well-being. The teachers alone remain in an unorganized condition.
>
> "The teachers of this country, through the molding of the political thought and the developing of the economic efficiency of each succeeding generation of citizens, control, more than any other class of people, the future of the republic, and have the least control over their own destiny.
>
> "A nation-wide organization of teachers, consolidated for protection, would be recognized by the political parties, by capital, and by labor as a body possessing unwonted power.
>
> "Such an organization would give the teachers of the country a voice in their own affairs which they do not at present possess."

Since great number of teachers are women who have the vote, such a national union of teachers as is here proposed would be a powerful organization in a national equal suffrage campaign.

Suffrage Proposal in France

IN France, M. Maurice Barrès has announced that he intends to introduce a bill to give the vote to the widows, and to the fathers and mothers, of fallen soldiers. This proposal Mme. Jane Misme, a prominent French suffragist, criticises as being based on sentiment rather than reason. She states, however, that it serves to draw attention to the fact that the voice of half the living population has been stifled until now. The same French suffragist, referring in her paper, *La Francaise*, to the action of the French Academy in crowning women who have distinguished themselves during the war (many of them having been killed while nursing under fire), hopes that the state will prove as appreciative as the academy, and that, "if the one awards us crowns, the other will award us the rights of citizens."

British Dominions Suffrage Union

MISS H. C. NEWCOMB, Hon. Secretary of the British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union, sends the following announcement:

The British Dominions Woman Suffrage Union will hold its second (biennial) conference in London, in the first week of July. The chief subjects of discussion will be: (1) The Economic Position of Women—Equal Pay for Equal Work; (2) Imperial Eugenics—An After-War Problem; Venereal Disease and the Future of the Race; Legislation and Education.

Under the second subject the W. Australian Amending Health Act will be fully discussed.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Heads United Suffragists of London

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE, of England, well known to American suffragists, has just been elected honorary secretary of the Central Organization of London members of the United Suffragists. In this capacity she will resume the suffrage work in which she took so able a part prior to the war.

Independent Labor Party of England and Woman Suffrage

IN the published agenda for the annual Conference of the Independent Labour Party of England which is to be held at Newcastle-on-Tyne on April 24 and 25, the following resolution has been put down:

> This conference calls upon the Government to enfranchise women at the earliest possible moment, seeing that the increased entry of women into the labor market imperatively necessitates woman's influence in the government of the nation.

Catholic Suffragists in England

AN interesting account of Suffrage activities carried on, despite the war and its ever-increasing horrors, is contained in the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society's fourth annual report. No better instance could be given of the Catholic women's loyalty to the suffrage cause than the founing, in January, 1915, in the midst of the war of their monthly organ, *The Catholic Suffragist*. The society has been represented at several important events during the past year, such as the International Women's Congress at the Hague and the National Conference on War Service for Women.

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Women's Organizations Appeal to the West

THE envoys aboard the Suffrage Special do not have to rely upon mere statements to convince their audiences of the strength of the appeal of disfranchised women for the help of women voters. They bear with them written appeals from organizations and groups of women the country over from Maine to New Mexico, from Georgia to Wisconsin, who could not take part personally in the western trip but who wanted to add their endorsement of the plea to the women voters to use their political power to effect the national enfranchisement of women.

There are appeals from Democratic, Republican, Progressive, and Socialist women; from Catholic women and from the W. C. T. U.; from women's clubs and women's trade unions; from benefit associations; from college women, women lawyers, teachers, social workers, civil service employes, policemen's wives, literally all sorts and conditions of women. In most cases they appeal directly to members of the same organization or of a similar group in the free states. Thus each appeal is made personal and is sure to reach understanding and sympathetic ears.

DEMOCRATIC WOMEN

The New York City Woman's Democratic Club addresses its appeal to "Our Democratic Sisters of the Enfranchised States," and reads:

> We, the members of the Woman's Democratic Club of the City of New York, appeal to all enfranchised women to aid us of the disfranchised states in our endeavor to obtain the vote.
>
> You have *political* power and that power may be made a decisive factor in our struggle. No more far-reaching use of your freedom can be made than to wield it to assist your politically less fortunate country women. . . .
>
> We, therefore, urge you our sisters to bring your influence to bear upon Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment at this session.
>
> We urge you particularly to let your Senators and Representatives know that you insist they exert their utmost influence to secure the passage of this amendment.
>
> Yours for equal suffrage,
> (Signed) MRS. JOHN SHERWIN CROSBY,
> *President.*

REPUBLICAN WOMEN

The Woman's Republican Club of New York City says:

> Dear Women Voters:
>
> You are blessed with the power of citizenship. Come to the help of the disfranchised women of the country, and make your vote such a solid force that it will give us political liberty. . . . As a political question, women suffrage will be given through one party or the other. We do not believe that we shall appeal in vain to the leaders of the Republican party on the wisdom of standing by the American women before our next presidential election, when the women voters will come into our ranks for the safety and honor of the nation.
>
> (Signed) Faithfully yours,
> MRS. JAMES L. WENTZ,
> *President.*

PROGRESSIVE WOMEN

The appeal of the Massachusetts Federation of Progressive women is in part:

> You hold in your hands to-day the power to enfranchise the women of our country, because through the voting strength which you possess you can win the vote for all other women. Show that there is solidarity among women. . . . For the sake of all women who will come after us, for the health and welfare of the nation, refuse your support to that party which has opposed the enfranchisement of women.
>
> (Signed) Massachusetts Federation
> of Progressive Women.
> ROSE CLARK,
> *Secretary.*

SOCIALIST WOMEN

One of the Socialists' appeals is as follows:

> To Socialists Women in the Free States:
>
> We, the members of the Women's Study Club of the Socialist Party of Essex County, citizens of the state of New Jersey, being disfranchised by the law of our state, appeal to you as fellow workers who are enfranchised, to use your political power to obtain for us the same measure of political freedom.
>
> We ask you to support the amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress, which forbids a state to disfranchise any citizen because of sex. We ask you to withhold your vote from the candidate of any national party which has refused its support to the national amendment, and blocked its progress in Congress.
>
> (Signed) GERTRUDE L. WHERRETT,
> *Secretary.*

Several other appeals also asked women voters to withhold support from any party which opposes the national amendment.

LABOR

The Women's Bindery Union of Washington, D. C. (Local No. 42. International Brotherhood of Bookbinders), appeals to all women wage-earners in the states where women vote, especially to trade union women, saying:

> We know that only through the women voters of Colorado and the women's vote of Colorado, California, and other states can we secure higher wages in our industry. The members of Congress from the above named states have assured us, if all women were voters, we would not have to beg our representatives to vote for bills that are of interest to the working women.
>
> We ask you to use the power you have as voting women to induce Congress to pass the national woman suffrage amendment, known as the Susan B. Anthony amendment, during the present session.

The Womens' Trade Union League of Philadelphia also says in its appeal "to the organized working women in the states where women vote," "As wage-earning women we especially feel the need of the ballot to protect ourselves."

THE D. A. R.

From Columbus, Ohio, comes this stirring message:

> We, the Board of Management and members (200) of the Columbus Chapter, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, appeal to the Daughters of the American Revolution and the other free women of the west, to help us who are still in bondage.
>
> We derive our claim of eligibility in this patriotic organization from a long line of *women* as well as men who with unfaltering courage and devotion served the cause of American Independence.
>
> (Here is given a long list of Revolutionary heroines.)
>
> We, the descendants of such women as these, and many more like them, desire in this great crisis of the world's history to have a part in shaping its destiny. When war comes, we shall not be found wanting. In the meantime we ask the privilege of the ballot, the effective tool of civilization in shaping policies in which we are so vitally interested.
>
> Will you, free women of the west, aid us by instructing your Senators and Representatives in Congress to vote for the Susan B. Anthony amendment during the present session of Congress?

This appeal bears more than fifty signatures, including that of Isabella G. Martin and many other officers, nearly the entire attendance at the meeting from which it was sent.

Among the appeals from suffrage organizations was one passed unanimously at meetings in six of chief cities of Maine: Augusta, Bangor, Waterville, Rockland, Portland, and Biddeford.

THE MACCABEES

The following is addressed to the voting members of the Women's Benefit Association of the Maccabees:

> Dear Members:
>
> Our last supreme convention resolved to "recommend to the members of the Women's Benefit Association the respectful consideration of the subject of the franchise for women." Circumstances have arisen where the vote would have been most helpful to us as an organization and to many of our individual members.
>
> We now ask in these eastern states of Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey, and in the District of Columbia, that you of our fraternity who have the privilege of voting, lend your cooperation and assistance to the envoys from the east to secure the franchise for the women of the east and of the nation.
>
> Urge your Senators and Congressmen to work and vote for the national enfranchisement of women.
>
> Yours fraternally,
> (Signed) MABEL L. LARUE,
> *Deputy Supreme Commander*

(and by the ten deputies of Maryland, Delaware, New Jersey and the District of Columbia.)

Through the interest of Miss Bina M. West, Supreme Commander, a similar appeal will be printed in the official organ of the Maccabees, which has a circulation of nearly 200,000.

TEACHERS

New York City teachers have sent this message:

> The Interborough Association of Women Teachers, of Greater New York, 14,000 strong, call upon the voting teachers, and all other voting women, to help us gain political freedom.
>
> The voting women of the west have it in their power to secure for these 14,000 teachers, and millions of other disfranchised women throughout the United States, the rights which justice and the democratic principles upon which this country is founded entitle them.
>
> We urge all teachers who can vote to use their political power by bringing pressure upon their representatives in Congress to pass the suffrage amendment immediately during this session.
>
> (Signed) GRACE C. STRACHAN,
> *President, I. A. W. T.*

SOCIAL WORKERS

Mrs. Florence Kelley, writing as a social worker, says:

> As a social worker, I beg the women voters to help us get the Susan B. Anthony amendment submitted by Congress to the legislatures this year. There has never been a year so favorable for this purpose, with a presidential election approaching and 4,000,000 women voters able to take part in it.

After recalling the work for suffrage done by members of her own family for sixty-eight years, she adds, "Surely the moral of this long baffling experience is that women in the belated states must turn to their voting sisters for immediate help." She refers to the greater ease and speed with which measures for the benefit of women and children are obtained in states where women vote, and concludes:

> Help us to end this waste, to get the amendment submitted by the present Congress, in order that we American women, thus made political equals, may work effectively together in the service of our country.

Many of these appeals have been printed and are being distributed broadcast at every point where the Suffrage Special stops.

Suffrage Envoys Welcomed to Illinois

Great Enthusiasim Marks First Stop in Swing Through West

WHEN the envoys arrived in Chicago, the first stopping place of the long tour, they found awaiting them not only the reception committee of the Congressional Union and the invited delegates from the women's clubs but a large crowd of enthusiastic men and women who represented just Chicago. There were newspaper men waiting to interview them, and "movie" cameras galore.

An escort of automobiles decorated in purple, white and gold, carried the big party to Congressional Union headquarters in the Stevens Building, where an informal reception was held. The headquarters were crowded to the doors with Illinois women who met the distinguished travelers during the afternoon. Tea was served by Miss Lucy Ewing. There were short speeches by Harriot Stanton Blatch, Miss Helen Todd, and Mrs. John Rogers. They told of the hopes of the women of the eastern states, who believed that a large percentage of the women voters of the west are ready to lay aside party affiliations and demand, as the Woman's Party, the passage of the suffrage amendment—suffrage first and now.

Tremendous applause greeted Mrs. Blatch when she said in concluding, "We must turn to the west for freedom! In appealing to the west now, we are appealing to a body of women whose voices will echo back to the east. We believe that this year you are going to stretch out your hands to your disfranchised sisters, and place women above partisanship, saying to the parties you have been loyal to in the past 'Not one bit of help do we give to you until you have done justice to women.'"

Throughout the stay of the party in Chicago, the envoys, numbering among them some of the most distinguished suffrage figures in this country, were greeted with enthusiasm.

A PUBLIC reception was given for the eastern guests in the galleries of the Art Institute on the evening of arrival. The Chicago College Club and the Illinois Athletic Club both entertained the party with large receptions and dinners, where the envoys were given an opportunity to make appeals to audiences that could have been reached in no other way. Fifty-three members of the Illinois College Club joined the Congressional Union and volunteered help for the coming campaign after heaving Miss Burns and Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles present the federal work of the Union.

The Democratic governor of Illinois, Governor Dunne, came from Springfield to welcome the party at a great outdoor mass meeting on the steps of the Art Institute on Tuesday. "Ardent suffragists packed the walks and steps before the Art Institute today to hear Governor Dunne, who signed the bill enfranchising the women of Illinois, greet the visiting delegation of prominent eastern suffragists," says the Chicago *News* of April 11.

The audience that gathered at this outdoor demonstration was so great that the meeting had to be divided into two sections and speakers addressed the crowd at the same time from both ends of the portico.

AT the Hamilton Club, the great Republican club of Chicago, where the party had been invited to present national suffrage, Mrs. Blatch, Miss Burns and Mrs. John Rogers were the speakers. "Several hundred Hamiltonians were thrilled at luncheon today," wrote the *Chicago Evening Post* of April 11, "when members of the eastern party of suffragists, traveling through the west on behalf of the Congressional Union, addressed them and delved into the history of the present administration."

THE women of Illinois who formed the reception committee in charge of the program and entertainment of the visitors in Chicago were among the most prominent in the state. They included Mrs. Bertram Sippy, Illinois state chairman of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Edwin Lyman Lobdell, vice-president, Chicago Woman's Club, who

The Envoys at Work in the Suffrage States

(1) Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of Delaware, in Charge of Outdoor Demonstrations on Trip. (2) One of the Outdoor Meetings. (3) Mrs. Hilles Speaking

Banquet in Honor of Eastern Envoys Given by Wome

was chairman of the Chicago reception committee; Miss Ella J. Abeel, Judge Mary Bartelme, of Cook County Court; Mrs. John R. Bensley; Miss Frances Frothingham; Miss Florence Holbrook, famed for her work in the National Woman's Peace Party; Mrs. Charles W. Kayser, Mrs. Alfred Linton, Mrs. Annette McCrea, Miss Ruth Astor Noyes, Miss Editha Phelps, Mrs. William F. Van Buskirk; Mrs. Joseph McClure Steels, Mrs. Sarah E. Raymond Fitzwilliams, Mrs. Gertrude B. Blackwelder, former president, Chicago Woman's Club; Mrs. Francis Walker, Mrs. Charles Scribner Eaton, Mrs. H. M. Wilmarth, one of the leading members of the Chicago Political Equality League; Miss Louise St. John Westervelt, Mrs. Frank Lloyd Wright, Mrs. Isaac Colburn, Miss Florence King, well-known lawyer and civic worker; Mrs. L. Brackett Bishop, Mrs. George Watkins; Mrs. Robert Fowler Cummings, Mrs. Harry Hammer, Mrs. Edwin A. Munger, Miss Mary O'Riley, prominent in trade union circles; Mrs. John Stewart Coonley, Mrs. Walter Clyde Jones, Mrs. John Marsh, Mrs. Fernando Cuniberti, Mrs. Fred Lorenz, Mrs. Kempster Miller, president of Vassar College Alumni Association; Miss C. Fitzgibbon, Mrs. Andrew J. Hirsch and Mrs. Julius Rosenwald, member of the National Advisory Council of the Congressional Union, and one of the most widely known philanthropists of the country.

THE great Anthony amendment dinner, held at the Auditorium Hotel, on the night of the departure of the delegates, and at which about one thousand men and women from Chicago and other parts of Illinois welcomed the delegates, was the most thrilling occasion of the two days' demonstration in Chicago. The dining hall was decorated with purple, white and gold union banners, with daffodils and spring flowers on every table, and purple, white and gold Congressional Union leaflets at every place. The envoys were the principal speakers.

The following distinguished Illinois men and women briefly welcomed the guests: Mr. Charles

ome Voters of Illinois, at Auditorium Hotel, Chicago

E. Merriam, alderman, and professor in the political science department of the University of Chicago; Miss Grace Abbott, known nationally for her work for the immigrant; Miss Harriet Vittum, one of Chicago's best known club women and civic director of Chicago Woman's City Club; Miss Florence Kiper Frank, Miss Sophonisba Breckenridge, director of the Chicago School of Civics, and Miss Ella J. Abeel, toastmistress, with Mrs. Bertram W. Sippy as chairman. "Judge Mary Bartelme thanked us for coming to the voting women," wrote one of the envoys to the national headquarters, "and real enthusiasm was shown the speakers. It was a most auspicious beginning of our appeal to the west."

One of the most beautiful features of the huge auditorium dinner was the singing of the Woman's Hymn, and the March of the women, both sung by a chorus of 100 voices, led by Miss Louise St. John Westervelt. So stirring was the singing of this trained chorus that the great audience joined in the choruses with beautiful effect.

Pledges were then made most enthusiastically toward the expense of starting the Woman's Party.

"The dinner was a huge success," wrote Mrs. Meade, one of the envoys, "and we left a thousand people still listening and applauding when we rushed in our dinner gowns to the train."

Mrs. John Rogers, another of the envoys, wrote, "The Auditorium Hotel banquet hall, the largest in Chicago, was literally packed. One Chicago woman said she had never seen it so crowded."

"People were really stirred here;" wrote one woman voter from Chicago who was present at all the events in the two days' stay, "the whole demonstration was wonderful."

"Now you are playing ball," thus one of Illinois' most distinguished lawyers summed up the sentiment which the envoys found when they explained their message with regard to the Woman's Party. "The enthusiasm over the project was more than we dared hope for," wrote one worker, who had labored indefatigably for their success of the occasion; "and the reception to the envoys was wonderful, beyond all our expectations."

The Press on the Visit to Chicago

The Congressional Union Suffragists in Chicago

If the Women Mobilize Only Ten Per Cent of Their Strength, They Can Place Many States in the Doubtful Column

THE twenty-one lady representatives of the Congressional Union, the women's suffrage organization which demands national enfranchisement, have completed their mission in Chicago and gone westward on their long tour.

Their reception in Chicago must have gratified them very much. After hiking through the desert, non-suffrage states east of Illinois, they arrived in Chicago just in time to witness women voting in an actual election!

Then, too, the Chicago suffragists gave them an enthusiastic reception and, as Governor Dunne said in his speech of welcome, "Nobody threw any bricks—only bouquets."

They were quite entitled to that kind of reception. The most stubborn of anti-suffragists could hardly encounter these cultivated, earnest, cheerful women without feeling sympathy for them if not for their mission. They were women who had willingly given up the comforts of home and undertaken a long trip full of fatigue and hard work. And they did this in pursuit of a high ideal.

No person of intelligence, especially no politician of intelligence, can afford to laugh at their mission, either.

The equal suffragists now have in the twelve suffrage states of the Union about four million women voters. If the Congressional Union can mobilize even 10 per cent of the women's votes in these states, pledged to make national equal suffrage the dominant issue, coupled with a demand on all political parties to "fix it or fight," each of these states will instantly be placed in the doubtful column—a fact that will be very impressive to all political fence-builders.

The fence-builders also will easily recognize another fact—the fact that the equal suffrage movement has at last, and in a manner, become militant!

The women are no longer begging for the ballot. They are demanding it!

Through the long years of their novitiate they have gradually created a literature, trained a large number of accomplished platform speakers, captured twelve states, developed an infectious enthusiasm and, to-day, are carrying with them a confidence born of conscious success!

It will be interesting to watch the tergiversations of the political managers at the national conventions next summer. If the Congressional Union succeeds in lining up a large part of their four million voters for their "fix it or fight" program the political managers of the two old parties, at least, will probably perspire freely, no matter what the weather conditions may be.

The Chicago *American* has always advocated the principle of equal suffrage; and, while it has not committed itself to any particular method of accomplishing this reform it nevertheless commends the touring twenty-one, and bespeaks for them a hearty welcome wherever they may go!—*Chicago Evening American, April* 13.

Chicagoans Welcome Eastern Suffragists

WITH streaming banners of purple, gold and white, the suffragists of Illinois, singing the hymn, "The March of the Women," escorted thirty-six well-known eastern women this afternoon in automobiles from the Union station 'round about the loop to the headquarters of the Illinois Congressional Union at 19 North State Street.

Thousands of women and men greeted the envoys from the east to the west.—*Chicago, Ill., Post, April* 10.

Noted Eastern Suffragists Address Chicagoans

IT was a splendid, intelligent, inspiring group of women who talked for the Anthony amendment for woman suffrage yesterday from the steps of the Art Institute at noon, at the Hamilton Club at 1 o'clock, at the College Club in the afternoon and at the big Anthony Amendment Dinner at the Auditorium Hotel last night. At 10 o'clock last night they were on their way west after a strenuous but effective two days in Chicago. More than 1,000 women attended the banquet and several hundred men were present.

Stunning, gray-haired women like Harriot Stanton Blatch and Mrs. John Rogers of New York, who got so many of their gray hairs fighting their way to political freedom, talked convincingly. Their personalities talked for them.

The Congressional Union thinkingly chose some of the strongest types in America for its Western speakers.—*Chicago Examiner, April* 12.

The Western Appeal

IT will be the first time that the record of a party has been carried by women to women on the eve of a presidential election, with the appeal that they organize to demand immediate action at Washington, and prepare themselves, if Congress refuses to act, to throw their votes at the next election in the way that will most help the suffrage cause.

"Thus," as Miss Burns points out, "the suffrage lobby at Washington will be backed by the one unanswerable appeal that can be made to the dominant party—that is, by the proof that enough women are already pledged to put suffrage above all other issues in the next election to make it unwise for the party in power longer to oppose this particular measure."

The advance upon the west is timed with deadly precision.—*Chicago Tribune, April* 9.

The Woman Voter and the Woman's Party

Speech by Mrs. William Kent, of California, at Conference of Officers of the Congressional Union, April 8, at National Headquarters

FIVE or six weeks ago a man from Colorado was visiting here in Washington. He was a man with big business interests in Colorado which carried him to a good many of the western states. He had breakfast with us one day. After breakfast we were talking of the political situation and after we had discussed it for a few minutes he said: "The President needs the women's vote." I did not know that he had heard of the Congressional Union work—although I might have known—but he turned to me with a laugh such as even western men sometimes use when they are talking about the women's vote, and said, "It seems to me the women are playing politics." I resented the phrase. I feel that this is such a serious matter, that it is beyond playing politics. Some of you perhaps from listening to the talk this afternoon may have thought that that was one thing the Congressional Union was planning to do, and I want you to appreciate that this whole movement is on a higher plane than that.

We have known of men who are Republicans or Democrats for no particularly good reason. The real issues have become clouded and obscured by their thoughtless allegiance to parties. That is one change that the woman's vote is surely going to bring. It is going to bring us back to real issues. We find it is true in California that the women are not half so much interested in partisanship as they are in the real issues, in the characters of the candidates and in the things which they really stand for. They choose their candidates on issues that seem to them most important.

A friend of mine said to me the other day, after looking over our program: "Mrs. Kent, how can you, one woman, speak for California women, or for western women?" Well, I can't. I can tell you how I stand on this subject. I can tell you how western women are taking this responsibility. I can tell you of the growing solidarity of women. I can tell you that as Mrs. Rogers said, women are realizing that before these questions, important questions of war and peace, child labor and other things—before they are settled women must have a voice. This question comes first because we must have a voice in deciding them. I can tell you that there are women in California that I know of who are anxious to vote for President Wilson. I would like to vote for President Wilson. But I can tell you just the same that although I should like, for many reasons, to vote for Mr. Wilson, that I am going to vote in such a way as will best further the interests of votes for women.

In California there are more than 2,000 women who are members of the Congressional Union, who have paid their twenty-five cents apiece, which is a sign of their allegiance, have signed this card which says that they place suffrage as the foremost issue before the country. Those two thousand women are going to respond to these splendid eastern women.

I believe they are going to stand together. I think they are going to stand for this Woman's Party. I think they are going to welcome this chance to work effectively for what they believe in. Why is it that a great many people seem to resent it when they see women banding themselves together to work for votes for women? What are we supposed to do with our vote? Are we not supposed to work through the ballot for the things that we believe in? Is not that the ideal which we have all held forth in our suffrage speeches, the ideals of citizenship and the sanctity of the vote? Why is it that we should be criticized when we thus stand together?

The thing that appeals to me most in thinking this subject over of what the response of the western women is going to be, is our duty to democracy, our duty to other women, our duty to the ideals of citizenship—this citizenship that we have been asking for for two generations. These past days that I have been pondering over this question that verse of Emerson's has kept beating in my ears:

> "So near is grandeur to our dust,
> So nigh is God to man,
> When duty whispers low, 'Thou must,'
> The youth replies, 'I can.'"

And we are none of us too old to make that reply.

Write to the Members of the House Judiciary Committee

Urging Each Member to Work and Vote for an Immediate and Favorable Report of the Susan B. Anthony National Suffrage Amendment

ALTHOUGH the center of activities seems to be in the west with the "Suffrage Special," the "insidious lobby" of the Congressional Union among the members of the Judiciary Commitee still goes on.

A deputation of one hundred women to Congressman C. C. Carlin, of the Judiciary Committee, under the leadership of Mrs. Keating, of Oregon, is to wait upon Mr. Carlin Wednesday. When asked to receive the deputation Mr. Carlin said smilingly, "Why, I thought I had already seen every woman in the United States, but if there are any I have not seen, I'll be glad to meet them Wednesday."

Miss Anne Martin, the national chairman of the legislative committee of the Congressional Union, has gone west to rally the suffrage forces in her home state of Nevada. She will return to Washington in May to resume her work as the leader of the lobbyists. Miss Maude Younger, of California, is acting chairman in her absence. Miss Younger has been prominent in numerous state suffrage campaigns which have given her a wealth of experience. In the California campaign she made over two hundred speeches and lobbied for the amendment; in Nevada, Michigan, Ohio, New York, and Pennsylvania she was a valuable worker during the campaigns.

Miss Younger devoted her services for five years to tenement work in the slums of New York, and while there became interested in the lives and work of waitresses. She served as a waitress in several restaurants to see what could be done for those engaged in this occupation. The diary she kept at that time was afterward published in a leading magazine as "The Diary of an Amateur Waitress." She later became president of the Waitress's Union of San Francisco. Miss Younger was very active in the winning of the eight-hour law for women workers of California.

Miss Maude Younger of California

Acting Chairman of the National Legislative Committee of the Congressional Union

Among the lobbyists who have been assisting in Washington during the week are Mrs. Alden Potter, chairman of the Minnesota branch of the Union; Mrs. Robert Adamson and Miss Marion May of New York.

The real work is with the Judiciary Committee which must report out the bill before it can be voted upon in the House of Representatives. Besides deputations, the members of the committee are receiving numbers of letters daily from workers for the federal amendment asking them to report out the bill without delay.

The members of the committee are:

(*R indicates Republican; D, Democrat.*)

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST

1. Edwin Y. Webb, North Carolina..... D
2. Charles C. Carlin, Virginia ..... D
3. J. Randall Walker, Georgia..... D
4. William L. Igoe, Missouri..... D
5. Warren Gard, Ohio ..... D
6. Richard S. Whaley, South Carolina..... D
7. Thaddeus H. Caraway, Arkansas..... D
8. Henry J. Steele, Pennsylvania..... D
9. Henry G. Danforth, New York..... R
10. George S. Graham, Pennsylvania..... R
11. Leonidas C. Dyer, Missouri..... R

SUFFRAGIST

12. Robert Y. Thomas, Jr., Kentucky..... D
13. Joseph Taggart, Kansas ..... D
14. William Elza Williams, Illinois..... D
14. Harry H. Dale, New York..... D
16. M. M. Neely, West Virginia..... D
17. Andrew J. Volstead, Minnesota..... R
18. John M. Nelson, Wisconsin..... R
19. Dick T. Morgan, Oklahoma..... R
20. Walter M. Chandler, New York..... R
21. Hunter H. Moss, West Virginia..... R

Address each member at the House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

Please write also to the *President, The White House, Washington, D. C.;* to *Speaker Clark,* and to *Representative Claude Kitchin* (Democratic leader), *House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.,* urging them to use their influence for an early and favorable report of the Susan B. Anthony national suffrage amendment *this session of Congress.*

All Free Women Must Help All Women to Be Free

(*Editorial in Denver Post, Denver, April* 16)

THE coming of a special car to Denver, filled with distinguished members of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, from the east, the south and the middle west, is a very significant event in the political history of this year.

These women are now touring through all the twelve suffrage states asking women voters to assemble at Chicago on June 5, 6 and 7, to launch a Woman's Party, which will be independent of all other national political organizations, and will have but one object—the passage of a federal suffrage amendment enfranchising women throughout the United States.

This appeal of the east to the west for equal suffrage is a very natural development of the national suffrage movement.

The whole question has ceased to be a local affair, and has become a national dominant issue; and its advocates are turning from the east, where women are politically helpless, to the west, where women are politically powerful.

The basis of operation for the suffrage movement from now on, it is easy to predict, will be the states where women are voters.

An extraordinary opportunity lies before suffragists in the present year. We are facing a national election, which is going to be hard fought. In this election over four million women can participate—citizens of twelve states. Every one of these states is wanted by both political parties.

If it were necessary to secure every one of those four million votes for the suffrage cause, before national woman suffrage could become a dominant issue in the coming campaign, suffragists might have small hope for success. Women do not vote in uniform masses, any more than men do.

But only a very small proportion of those votes, if they are independent and pledged to the support of the suffrage issue, can very seriously affect the result of the election.

Elections in America are won by small margins. In all the presidential contests since 1896 an average turnover of 9 per cent of the votes cast would have altered the result of the election and thrown the victory to the opposite party. In 1912 not one of the equal suffrage states needed an alteration of more than 7.8 per cent of the vote cast to have given the victory to the other side.

A comparatively small body of women voters, determined to stand out for the enfranchisement of their sex, can, if they will, secure the passage of the federal suffrage amendment through Congress in the present session.

The appeal of the eastern women to the women of the west is a strong one. They ask women voters to put suffrage first, in the national field, till all women are enfranchised. In the national field, there can hardly be a greater issue, particularly for women.

The right of the people to self-government is the greatest question that can be considered by a democracy. Greater than any law is the right of the people to decide upon their laws, and the very quality of our democracy is vitiated by the continued disfranchisement of more than three-fourths of the women of this country.

It is a serious issue, too, for the women of the west. Congress decides upon questions of vital interest to women, and it will never be sufficiently responsible to them until all women are enfranchised.

Today, when questions affecting the possibility of peace or war are in the hands of Congress, women should have an equal share with men in the settlement of these problems in every state in the Union.

It is true in more than the sentimental sense that women will not be fully free till all women are free.

Comments of the Press

The Western Star

THE wise men followed the star in the east. For the wise women gleams a ray of hope in the west, and today comes out of the east a band of women to hitch their suffrage wagons to the western star. Woman suffrage throughout the nation is dependent upon western women.—*Seattle, Wash., Post Intelligencer, March* 31.

The Trip to the West

ONE of the most portentous undertakings in the history of the suffrage movement will be initiated tomorrow afternoon when the "Suffrage Special" of the Women's Congressional Union, with its cargo of thirty-six women envoys and scores more of workers and speakers, will leave on its transcontinental itinerary.—*Newark, N. J., Star-Eagle, April* 8.

The Suffrage Special

SO, following this dash across the country by the suffragists of the east and the formation of the voting women's party, it will be directly up to the Democrats. If they report out the amendment, there will be hope. If they refuse, the women of the nation will line up to fight them to the last trench.—*Colorado Springs, Colo., Gazette April* 9.

Suffragists' Pilgrimage to Free States

FROM the extensive preparation made, it is the opinion in Washington that the women are serious in their determination to punish the Democratic party by retirement, and have not devised the jaunt as a fitting and joyful conclusion of their long and melancholy congressional campaign.—*Birmingham Age-Herald, Ala., April* 5.

Form National Woman's Party for Ballot Fight

A REAL national woman's party, to be made up of women voters of the "free" states, is in process of formation. This party will make an effort to consolidate the 4,000,000 women voters, regardless of their party denominations, so that their influence may be polled in favor of amending the Constitution to remove the sex qualification and give every woman a right to vote.

This is the answer of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage to the action of this Congress in refusing to vote on the Susan B. Anthony amendment. The suffrage leaders hold the Democratic party, and particularly the Democratic leaders of the House, responsible for the action of the Judiciary Committee, which recently twice voted to postpone indefinitely any consideration of the suffrage amendment.

This action by a House committee makes it impossible to secure a vote of the whole House on this matter, and was taken unquestionably in accordance with orders from the party chiefs who desire to keep the embarrassing subjects of suffrage and prohibition from a record vote in the House, lest such votes and records embarrass members who are facing campaigns for reelection in November.

The call has gone out and a conference is to be held in Washington, April 9 and 10, preliminary to sending a spectacular trainload of suffrage workers from the eastern states to the "free" states of the West. This expedition is what Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the Congressional Union, calls "an appeal by the unenfranchised women to their free sisters" to help them by forming a Woman's Party.

Already a big trip has been arranged, to cost not less than $50,000, taking in twenty or thirty states, with speeches, and rallying meetings all the way from the Union Station in Washington to San Francisco and back again. The influence of the "Woman's Party," of course, will be cast against the Democratic party, unless between now and adjournment favorable action is taken by the party on the suffrage amendment.—*Boston Advertiser, Boston, Mass., April* 1.

Democratic Diplomacy

DEMOCRATIC diplomacy is on trial, the suffragists say, and upon its success or failure depends, they hope, the future of the party. If the leaders can satisfactorily answer the seekers of the vote—and the only way they can do so is by reporting out of committee the Susan B. Anthony amendment—all will be well and good. But if their reply is kaiserfied it will mean war to the end. There will be no more notes; no more parleying.

The Congressional Union has more or less effective organizations in each state. These will be used as a nucleus for the formation of a woman's political party, which will be open to voting women of all political faiths, and which will have the sole object of forcing the passage of the suffrage amendment. Of these, the suffragists say, there are 4,000,000.—*Colorado Springs, Colo., Gazette, April* 9.

The Direct Way

THE Congressional Union is using the direct political method of obtaining the end. There is no preaching on woman suffrage; that matter was settled in 1910 in this state. They are working on the plan that the quickest way to get something is to go to one's friends. If the Democratic administration will not submit the suffrage amendment to the states for ratification, then the women propose going to the Republican party.—*Seattle, Wash., Post Intelligencer, March* 30.

Their Hat in the Ring

THE women have thrown their hats into the ring. A new political party will line up at the polls in November with the Republicans, the Democrats and the Progressives.—*N. Y. Tribune, April* 5.

4,000,000 Women Start Great Movement in Suffrage Battle

THE biggest and most portentous mass movement of women in American history is today developing in the West.

It is the concert of women, under the leadership of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, determined upon national political emancipation through the Susan B. Anthony constitutional amendment.

To marshal the 4,000,000 women votes in the twelve equal suffrage states by the middle of May is the Union's plan.

In practically every city in these twelve states a corps of suffrage veterans is organizing this tremendous balance of political power, so big that it could elect the next President.—*N. Y. Call, April* 8.

Fundamental Democracy

THERE are greater platform debaters on the rights of women to citizenship than those who so wisely and effectively conduct the operations of the Congressional Union. But in all the national suffrage workers there are few who think more clearly on constructive legislative lines to advance this right cause than Miss Alice Paul, Miss Anne Martin and their associates in the Congressional Union forces. Parliamentary tricks may delay, but they cannot arrest the progress of this pressing and fundamental issue. . . . The most pitiable weakness which President Wilson and the caucus of his party have shown is either their failure or refusal to recognize this fundamental right of democracy by advancing the constitutional amendment. But it is an issue which their party cannot much longer refuse to face. . . .—*Wisconsin State Journal, April* 1.

How About Montana?

THIS state's two federal senators are Democrats and one of them is running this year for a second term. Naturally enough, they have no liking for the movement whereby it is proposed to mass the votes in the suffrage states against all the Democrats in Senate and House, because the party's majority in Congress won't submit to the people a suffrage amendment to the Constitution.

Months ago, the representatives of the suffrage organization known as the Congressional Union counted up all the women in the suffrage states and then flared the threat that these millions, to the last man—or rather to the last woman—would vote against all Democrats in national politics. At that time the *Post* remarked that this claim was exceedingly broad, and we asked whether it was reasonable to assume that all the women in Montana, for instance, or most of them, in disregard of local considerations, would pitch in and vote and work against the Democratic ticket in this state—of course, that would be all right from this newspaper's political point of view.

The truth is that the Democrats have themselves to blame for much of this bad mix-up—that is what it amounts to in its countrywide bearing. The members of the party in Congress played tag with the question. Unless a good deal of news that has reached the Rocky Mountain region from Washington is wrong, the women were led to believe that there would be favorable action, during the session, with respect to the amendment. President Wilson passed up the issue, because his party had never made a declaration concerning it. At once the women proposed to get from Congress the party declaration, in anticipation of the St. Louis convention.

Meanwhile, the fact that President Wilson went to New Jersey, last November, and voted for suffrage was nationally advertised. He was for it in his state, whatever his party might do, later on, with the proposed amendment to the federal constitution. It was known some time ago that the Democratic managers in Congress had decided to pass the project up. Hence the disturbance within Democracy that is finding manifestation just now in our own community.—*The Butte Daily Post, Mont., April* 5.

Suffragists at Washington

THE women continue to fight with wonderful courage and skill against the determination of the ruling Democrats to smother woman suffrage until after the coming campaign. These women have already shown more wit, wisdom and resources than any average body of men has ever shown here in the like conditions.—*Pearson's Magazine, May,* 1916.

National Suffrage a Live Issue

THE Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage shows remarkable statesmanship in its present campaign for the national suffrage amendment. It is both intelligent and wise that the women should take their case to the women constituents of the Congress if they wish to get immediate action. The present national administration has allowed its House leaders to postpone action on the amendment until next December. The women realize that this is a very frank way of disposing of a question which might prove troublesome in the national elections. They have come to ask the women of Arizona and other suffrage states to make known to the administration through the men in Congress, who are the only national lawmakers whose business it is to represent women as well as men, that facilities should be given at once for the early passage of the amendment.

The suffrage movement has passed the stage of ideal reform. It is a plain political question and must be settled in the realm of things political. With 4,000,000 women now voting for the President and Congress, no political leader can hope to ignore the demands of the women of the East and keep the favor of the women voters of the West.—*Tucson Ariz., Citizen, March* 16.

Women Prepare to Form Party

WILL the women be able to form a national political party of their own?

This question is sharply raised by the fact that an invasion of the west has been begun by envoys from the eastern states consisting of a large number of suffrage leaders. They have set out to go through the enfranchised territory to complete the formation of a new party which they call the "Woman Voters' Party."

The project was launched by the Congressional Union, which has announced that the object of the trip of the leaders, more than thirty in number, is to consolidate the suffragists in the twelve states where women vote—or, as the suffragists say, "the twelve free states"—into a group that will fight for the early enfranchisement of women through the adoption of a federal constitutional amendment and refuse support to any party opposing nation-wide suffrage.

In the present situation this means that the proposed new party will fight the Democratic party because the leaders of that party in Congress have refused to support the proposed amendment. Moreover, President Wilson in effect has opposed the amendment. He has taken the position that woman suffrage is a state issue, and this it flatly a variance with the position of the advocates of a national amendment. If the spirit of the women who have stirred up the present movement, and who are in the list of envoys gone west to set the prairies and mountaintops afire, be an index, there will be a series of lively meetings. The leaders lay the blame for failure to report the suffrage amendment resolution to the House at the door of the administration.—*New York Globe, New York City, April* 11.

Suffragists Invade Country

ARMED with the determination to make real, sure-enough votes a lively factor in pushing the passage of the national suffrage amendment, twenty-eight envoys will "set sail" on the good ship *Suffragist* next Sunday afternoon for the Congressional Union's much-talked-about tour of the enfranchised territory.

All the activities in connection with the big western drive center at the headquarters on Lafayette Square. Every department is humming with the machinery set in motion by the announcement that womens' hats were in the ring and a new political party would line up at the polls in November with the Republicans, the Democrats and the Progressives.

Foes to the Union's federal amendment policy evidently have been convinced by the press comment in the leading papers that the women voters will force the suffrage issue into the coming campaign. Through the press department of the organization, the entire country from the Atlantic to the Pacific has been blanketed with bulletins regarding the trip of the envoys through the "free states" and the proposed party movement.

The news apparently has been received with enthusiasm in the west, for the wires have been kept hot with invitations to the envoys to address meetings, take part in demonstrations and public receptions. Indications are that the delegates will be accorded a royal welcome by the women voters in the enfranchised territory.

Each state will be organized under a state chairman, just like the men's political parties. With such organizations formed, no difficulty is anticipated in mobilizing the women at the polls in the 1916 elections and formally launching the new party. Assurance of cooperation from the voting women themselves has been received by the Union.

When the "suffrage special" pulls out of the Union Station at Washington, there will be on board a delegation of women known throughout the country for the prominent part they have taken in the federal amendment work. The crusade on which they are to start has been heralded from coast to coast as unique in the political annals of America.—*Indianapolis News, Indiana, April* 7.

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April 9 Through April 15

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